

RACIAL IDENTIFICATION AND PREFERENCE
IN YOUNG CHILDREN AS A FUNCTION OF
RACE AND SEX OF THE EXPERIMENTER AND CHILD

By

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the day when no one asks which doll
is a nice color.

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A considerable amount of research concerning racial awareness, identification, and preference in young children has been conducted since 1939. The results of this research included the findings that children were able to make racial discriminations as early as age three and that a high degree of racial awareness was developed by age five. It was also found that black children rejected black dolls and puppets and photographs of blacks and attributed negative characteristics to blacks. Black children identified themselves as white significantly more often than they identified themselves as black, and they often became upset when asked to make a racial self-identification. These results were

interpreted to mean that black children have a negative self-image.

The major purposes of the present study were to determine how recent social changes have affected this self-image of black children and to determine whether or not changes in the experimental situation (i.e., race and sex of the experimenter) could affect experimental results.

Subjects were fifty-six black and fifty-six white children including an equal number of males and females who had been enrolled in an integrated kindergarten for almost a full academic year. A black female, a white female, a black male, and a white male experimenter were used. Each subject was presented with four identical dolls, two black with black hair and two white with yellow hair. Subjects were first invited to pick up any doll to play with. Then each subject was asked to give the experimenter the doll he (she) would "like to play with," and the doll "that is a nice doll," "that looks bad," "that is a nice color," "that looks like a white child," "that looks like a colored child," "that looks like a Negro child," "that looks like you." Subjects were then presented with a second set of dolls identical to the first except that one black doll and one white doll were dressed in clean, new smocks and one black and one white doll were dressed in torn, dirty smocks to indicate a socioeconomic difference.

It was hypothesized that black subjects would prefer the black dolls and identify themselves with the black dolls significantly more often than in previous studies. It was also hypothesized that black subjects would show a greater preference for the doll of their own race when the

experimenter was of the same race. It was also expected that all subjects would prefer the high status doll. No hypothesis could be made regarding the effects of the interaction of race and sex of the experimenter and child.

The results supported the first two hypotheses. Several conclusions were made on the basis of the results. A significant increase in preference for black by black subjects was found in relation to a previous study. Black subjects preferred black significantly more than white subjects. White subjects identified themselves with the appropriately colored doll significantly more often than black subjects. Racial preference, accuracy, and identification were found to vary in a complex way as a function of the race and sex of the experimenter and child. It was concluded that the results at least in part indicate the subject's response to the experimental situation, since the results varied with changes in the situation. Therefore, it would seem that conclusions regarding the self-image of black children on the basis of such data must be made cautiously and it should be kept in mind that generalizations on the basis of such data may be tenuous.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY

Introduction

"In any society in which ethnic group membership carries some connotation of inferiority or superiority, the social hopelessness of those in a discredited minority group is transmitted to their children" (Landreth, 1967, p. 291). An assumed inferiority of the Negro certainly pre-dates the American society. In 1758, Linnaeus described the African variety of man as being phlegmatic, indulgent, crafty, lazy, and negligent (Borgatta and Lambert, 1968). Although knowledge of racial characteristics has increased since the eighteenth century, some beliefs about the inherited inferiority of the Negro still persist. Several studies (Clark and Clark, 1939; Radke and Trager, 1950) have shown that black children as young as four years of age seem to be aware of the undesirable quality of their skin color. Black children preferred white to black companions (Landreth and Johnson, 1953); they said a white doll was prettier than the black one and they would prefer to be like the white one (Radke and Trager, 1950).

However, in the years since the Supreme Court decisions making integration compulsory in schools and other public places, much has

happened to the American Negro. Early civil rights sit-ins have presumably resulted in the development of the concepts of pride and dignity in blackness. The notion of Black Power, "black is beautiful", and the Afro-American movement have been aimed at improving both the actual position and the self-image of the black. The most obvious result of these efforts has been the acceptance of the preference to be called black rather than Negro or colored. However, there is some question as to whether or not the apparent changes in the self-attitudes of blacks have yet been internalized. Have the self-images of black children changed through the efforts to develop black pride? Do they no longer reject the black doll, a behavior which has been interpreted as a rejection of their own blackness?

Review of the Literature

The reality of color is an inescapable fact for the American Negro in that it becomes an important part of the concept of the self. As Seward pointed out, "color is inherent in the concept of 'self', as awareness emerges in a race-conscious social context which assigns values to the perception of color" (1956, p. 129). Allport (1954) and Proshansky and Newton (1966) all considered the preschool and early elementary school years (ages three to seven) as the crucial period for the development of the child's feelings about himself and about those who are ethnically different. During these years the child becomes aware of racial differences,

learns the labels, and learns the evaluative connotations of these labels. Thus, the research on racial identification and awareness has largely concentrated on these early years.

The awareness of racial differences has been found as early as age three (Clark and Clark, 1958; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1958; Stevenson and Stevenson, 1960). The degree of awareness increased steadily until age six or seven; by this age, all children were able to make accurate racial identifications (Clark and Clark, 1958; Morland, 1958). While the ability to make racial discriminations has occurred as early as age three, it was during the fourth year that a high awareness of race was found (Goodman, 1952). Goodman (1952) found in a study of nursery school children that a high degree of awareness of racial differences did not occur before the age of four years, three months, while low awareness did not occur in subjects older than four years, eleven months. Clark and Clark (1958) also proposed that the time between four and five years of age may be the crucial period in the development of racial attitudes. Thus, it has been established that children are aware of racial differences and can make racial discriminations by age five.

As Clark (1955) pointed out, the concept of racial awareness must be considered conjointly with the concept of racial preference: "The child... cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race" (p. 23). Thus, as the child learns racial labels, he also learns that

positive and negative values are attached to those labels. Research has shown that black children apparently have learned the negative value of their own racial identity and have assimilated this into their self-concepts.

Kenneth and Mamie Clark studied racial awareness and identification in young children and the value attached to races through what they termed the Dolls Test (Clark and Clark, 1958). Four dolls were used, two black and two white with black and yellow hair respectively. The dolls were clad only in diapers, so that there could be no sex identification. Children were asked to give the experimenter the doll "that you would like to play with, . . . that is a nice doll, . . . that looks bad, . . . that is a nice color, . . . that looks like a white child, . . . that looks like a colored child, . . . that looks like a Negro child, . . . that looks like you" in that order. Questions one through four were to indicate racial preferences, questions five through seven racial awareness, and question eight self-identification. The preference questions were given first, because it was found that once the child had identified himself with a doll, he tended to show preference for that doll; the experimenters postulated that in these cases they were not measuring racial preference, but rather ego-involvement (Clark and Clark, 1958).

Black children of ages three through seven were tested with this method; southern children were taken from segregated schools, northern children from mixed schools. The results showed that ninety-four percent of the children correctly identified the white doll, ninety-three percent identified the colored doll, and seventy-two percent correctly chose

the Negro doll. Thus, it was concluded that the concept of race had been formed. On the self-identification question, thirty-three percent of the children identified themselves with the white doll, while sixty-six percent of the children chose the black doll. The difference was significant and the experimenters concluded that this indicated that some black children wished to be white. The criticism has been made that some of the lighter children were actually closer to the white doll in color; however, even among the darkest children, only seventy-five percent identified themselves with the black doll. Thus, it is clear that among some children there was a problem in racial self-identification. Furthermore, the children were found to consistently reject the black doll and prefer the white doll. There were more northern children who saw the black doll as bad (seventy-one percent), while forty-nine percent of the southern children saw the black doll as bad. Rejection of the child's own race was still the norm. No testing was done with white children.

Although criticisms may be made of this study, the spontaneous comments of the children in the testing situation left little doubt that the research revealed some important facts about the self-image of black children. In some cases, children ran out of the room crying when asked to make the self-identification. There were numerous comments about black being dirty and white being clean. Children tried to explain away their blackness; one said he had burned himself that morning, another said he had gotten suntanned on vacation.

In another study (Clark and Clark, 1950), a coloring test was used

to give children a wider range of responses. Children were given a sheet of paper with drawings of a leaf, an apple, an orange, a mouse, a boy, and a girl, plus a box of twenty-four colored crayons, including brown, black, white, yellow, pink, and tan. Children were asked to color the objects to determine whether or not they knew what color things really were; children were then instructed to color the appropriate sex drawing the color that they were and the opposite sex drawing the color that they would like little girls or boys to be. Many of the children spent a long time choosing the crayon for skin color, sometimes choosing one and then exchanging it for a lighter color. Some of the children who had been coloring carefully, scribbled over the drawing representing themselves. A slight majority of the children did not use brown or black, but rather used a lighter color or some bizarre color such as red or green. This study also indicated that black children were rejecting their skin color or feeling some conflict over skin color.

Clark (1955) hypothesized a conflict between the need for self-esteem and the awareness that dark skin color is a basis for rejection by society. Children assimilate prevailing social attitudes, see that they are identified with something which is rejected, and consequently reject themselves. The result is a conflict about oneself quite early in development, as early as three years. Older children were found to prefer light brown over either black or white. Clark saw this as a compromise to resolve the conflict of one's inevitable blackness. Clark continued to build his case by stating that black psychiatric cases may have delusions of being white

or may deny their racial ancestry. Thus, Clark concluded that a self-hatred develops which may result in aggression, delinquency, submissiveness, over-compensation in achievement, but always a general defeatist attitude and lowering of aspiration.

Regardless of the theoretical explanations, some very specific conclusions can be made from the preceding studies. It was demonstrated that children were able to correctly identify racial differences as early as age three. In addition, black children rejected black and preferred white as a skin color for dolls and for drawings. Finally black children sometimes became upset when asked to make racial self-identifications.

One may feel it is necessary to accept Clark's work with some caution since he is black himself. However, other investigators also concluded that there is a poor self-image among black children. Horowitz (1939) studied racial preferences in a rural area using black children from grades one through five. Children were given a group of photographs of black, white, and Filipino boys and girls; they were asked to show the experimenter all those photographs of persons they would like to play with, have for a cousin, sit next to at school, not be allowed to play with and so on. Photographs of black children were consistently rejected and race was found to be even more important than sex in making choices; a white boy would prefer a white girl as a playmate rather than play with a black boy.

Johnson (1941) studied blacks between the ages of twelve and twenty, living in the rural South. Subjects were given six racial categories and

were asked to use these categories to describe people in thirty value-judgment situation. Johnson found that black was used disproportionately for negative judgments. For instance, forty percent of the boys chose black for the "ugliest girl you know," while eleven percent chose yellow, and seven percent chose light brown. Forty-three percent of the boys and twenty-three percent of the girls indicated black as the color of the "meanest boy (girl) you know." The experimenters reported spontaneous comments by subjects such as "black is ugly," "black people are mean," "black people are evil." The conclusion was that the judgments made in the experimental situations were based on stereotypes rather than actual experience.

Radke and Trager (1950) and Radke, Sutherland, and Rosenberg (1950) found that black children showed a preference for white dolls and gave undesirable descriptions to photographs of blacks more frequently than did white children, so that black children seemed to be attributing more negative value to themselves than did the white children. Goodman (1952) found that nine percent of the black children in her sample expressed hostility toward whites, while twenty-four percent expressed hostility toward their own race; thirty-three percent of the white children expressed hostility toward blacks, but none of the white children studied was hostile toward his own race. Stevenson and Stewart (1958) found that black children perceived other black children as aggressive, bad, and those "whom other children fear" significantly more often than white children attributed these characteristics to other white children. Both black and white

subjects in this study most often chose white children as "winners in a game." Morland (1962) found that sixty percent of the black children studied preferred to play with white children, while only ten percent of the white children preferred to play with blacks.

Thus, it can be seen that other researchers in addition to the Clarks have found that black children preferred white dolls and photographs and rejected black dolls and photographs. Black children exhibited hostility toward blacks and attributed negative characteristics to blacks, saying they preferred to play with white children.

It was also found that children associate a socioeconomic class with race. Radke and Trager (1950) asked five-to eight-year-old children to choose a house for a white and a black doll, given a "good" house and a "poor" house. Eighty-two percent of the white children and sixty-seven percent of the black children gave the "poor" house to the black doll; seventy-seven percent of the white children and sixty percent of the black children gave the "good" house to the white doll. Thus, it would seem that children of both races had assimilated and accepted the inferior social status of the black.

Landreth and Johnson (1953) found socioeconomic class to be a major factor in children's racial attitudes. Five-year-old children were invited to complete a picture of a person engaged in some activity by adding one of three insets; the insets were identical except that the skin color of the person was either white, brown, or black. Children of professional parents showed no significant differences in choice of color.

Children of unskilled workers, both black and white, chose the white-skinned inset significantly more often than the dark-skinned ones. The experimenters concluded that value associated with color may depend largely on experience; they determined that working class parents are more likely to instill ethnic prejudice than are parents with more education.

In summary, studies in the 1940's and 1950's have consistently shown that black children rejected black images in the forms of dolls and photographs. In addition, black children assigned themselves negative personality attributes and associated black skin color with poor socioeconomic conditions. White children were also rejecting of black skin color; however, some studies found white children less negative towards blacks than the blacks themselves. One study found that children of professional parents did not discriminate among skin colors, while both black and white children of unskilled workers preferred white.

In the numerous attempts in the literature to explain the phenomenon of negative self-images in black children, part of the problem has been attributed to the experience of being poor and lower class. Sewell (1961) found that healthy personality traits on the California Test of Personality were more frequent in children of higher socioeconomic class. However, Watson (1966) reported that children were unable to ascribe class or class-related activities before the sixth grade; the inferior status of the black could be detected by age four. A study of Amish children found that they felt persecuted, inferior, and not as strong as other

children (Clark, 1955). Children of Italian-born parents demonstrated a sense of inferiority and rejection, poor social adjustment, and emotional instability (Clark, 1955). Lewin (1948) has reviewed the phenomenon of self-hatred among Jews. It seemed that all minority children suffered some damage -- a sense of inferiority, personal humiliation, and confusion about self-worth (Clark, 1955). Of course, the situation is especially acute for the black child, since he can never escape his badge of inferiority.

In Lewin's (1948) theoretical system the black was the most extreme case of self-hate resulting from belonging to a group. Belonging to a socially underprivileged group may seem to be an impediment to reaching some future goal; however, the individual is forced to remain a part of that group by external forces. The individual may try to set himself apart from the group; when he is unable to, self-hatred develops. The hatred is a product of internalized values of the higher strata, including the low esteem of the majority for the lower class group. Lewin interpreted the problem to be pathological, but in persons of normal mental health he accepted the problem as social psychological. Self-hate can be overcome when the feelings of group inferiority and inequality are no longer a reality. Lewin judged neurotic trends to stem from the lack of adjustment to group inferiority.

Much of the self-hate and negative self-image among blacks appears to have been learned from the family as well as from the outside white world. A child builds his sense of self from responses made to him by

other people; he learns how others perceive him through their acts and attitudes, and comes to perceive himself in the same way (White, 1964). Many of the black families are disrupted; the mother or maternal grandmother is the dominant family figure. Children from broken homes frequently feel unwanted, since they may well be a burden on the mother and are often shuffled from place to place; these children develop an insatiable need for reassurance (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1967). The black home may often be fatherless because the father was unable to meet the image of being a good provider and left out of desperation (Grossack, 1963). Even if the father is physically present, he is likely to be unimportant, since the mother or mother-substitute serves as the dominant family figure. For male children, there is no strong male figure to serve for sex role identification. Furthermore, mothers consistently prefer their daughters in these homes, leaving their sons to feel inferior. To overcome this, boys may identify with the maternal authority and subsequently feel some sense of inadequacy in terms of masculinity. The girls, in an attempt to live up to their mothers' high demands, may show extreme conformity to the maternal expectations (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1967). In addition, parents serve as primary models for in-group identification. Black children cannot see their parents as capable and powerful protectors; in the face of white society the parents appear intimidated and impotent (Shane, 1960).

Being black in a black family and subculture, the child finds few black leaders with whom to identify; the white culture has obvious

advantages. The development of a secure self-system in blacks is obstructed by the acceptance of the white value system, and thus the individual and the group measured worth by closeness to white features. The lighter the skin, the straighter the hair, the narrower the nose and mouth, the more self-esteem the black once developed (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1967). A child who was black and very "African" in appearance may have been looked upon with some scorn by family, friends, society at large, and even by the child himself. This may have changed in the light of black pride. However, in addition to a poor self-image and a disrupted family, the black child is likely to live under marginal social conditions, with a lack of privacy, limited opportunities to explore the outside world, the lack of an aesthetically pleasing environment, and so on (Goldstein, 1967).

Thus, it can be seen that the poor self-image in black children developed for a variety of reasons. One suggested cause was the experience of being poor and of the lower socioeconomic class; this experience was found to have generated feelings of inferiority among Amish, Italian-Americans, and Jews as well as blacks. Lewin (1948) hypothesized that the black perceived himself as a member of a socially underprivileged group and tried to set himself apart from that group. When this was impossible, the black internalized the values of the privileged majority and self-hate developed. Black families have often been disrupted, with no strong male figure for sex role identification. Black children saw their families, especially fathers, as impotent in the face of white society, so

that in-group identification and pride was hindered. Finally, the black child saw whites and those closer to being whites as having more social and economic advantages.

The black child may react to these factors in ways other than self-hate or a poor self-image. For some, the result has been extreme submissiveness, playing a passive and servile role. However, passive acceptance of the role dictated by the white society is a poor adjustment. A report by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (1957) suggested that the compliant behavior merely masks anger, fear, and resentment. In studying Thematic Apperception Test responses, Mussen (1953) found that white boys saw the world as a friendly place, while black boys saw it as hostile and threatening. Palermo (1959) found black children in the fourth to the sixth grades expressed more anxiety than white children. Kardiner and Ovesey (1962) reported denial and distortion of reality evidenced in the Rorschach protocols of black adults. Another reaction to the frustration of the situation has been an attempt to escape through drugs or alcohol (Drake, 1965). The light-skinned black sometimes completely escaped his group by "passing" as white (Drake, 1965). Another means of dealing with rejection has been aggression against the out-group; Clark (1955) asserted that aggression through crime has been the black's way of rejecting white society. This seems to ignore the fact that crime is generally associated with poverty. Nevertheless, delinquency and crime are not uncommon in black neighborhoods.

The problems of the black child have been seen initially in the schools. The child comes to school with poor verbal skills, the one ability which is extremely important in our education system. Goldstein (1967) reported that low-income blacks came to the first grade well-dressed and eager; by the fourth grade they were exhibiting problems in behavior and attitude. The child goes to school having experienced only punishment as discipline and is unaccustomed to the middle class system of social rewards. The child quickly learns that bad behavior brings punishment and is his only way of getting the teacher's attention. Other children get special privileges from the teacher, while the black child may be rejected and denied privileges because of his poor behavior, his clothes, his dialect, or perhaps his skin color. Thus, the child's self-image worsens, he becomes aggressive and eventually wants to quit school (Davis and Dollard, 1940). The teacher may expect the child to be a poor student and this expectancy has been demonstrated to increase the probability of failure (Janis et al., 1969). And so, a developing child who already has a poor sense of self-worth is put into a school situation which continually shows him that he is not as good as middle class white children; the black child becomes caught in a whirlpool of failure, rejection, and feelings of inferiority.

And so, the reactions to being black and a member of an underprivileged minority may include passive acceptance of an inferior role, anxiety, and distortion of reality. There may be an attempt to escape through alcohol, drugs, or by "passing." Aggression in the form of crime

may result. Such reactions may lead to a further worsening of the self-image.

One of the assumptions underlying school desegregation was that it would improve the position of the black child by providing better education; it was also expected that interracial contact would improve race relations. One might also assume that good relations with white students would decrease inferiority feelings among black children. Williams and Byars (1970) found trends toward increased self-esteem among black eleventh-graders after integration. However, there has been no consistent evidence to show that integration has improved racial attitudes; simple interracial contact has apparently not brought about greater tolerance or acceptance in the schools (Carithers, 1970). Thus, while one study may find increased self-esteem among black children through white acceptance and positive experience with desegregation, another study might just as easily find decreased self-esteem or no change as a result of integration. Therefore, it is difficult to determine as yet just what effect desegregation has had in relation to self-image among blacks.

Thus, the question remains of what effect the social changes of recent years have had on the self-image of black children. Findings of recent studies have been somewhat inconsistent and contradictory. Butts (1963) reported that the misperception of skin color correlated with low self-esteem; children high in self-esteem did not incorrectly identify their skin color. In a replication of the Dolls Test, Gregor and McPherson (1966) found black children rejecting the black doll.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) added a Mulatto doll and found that more black children were able to correctly identify themselves than in the Clark studies, which used only black and white dolls. However, the majority of the children still rejected the black (and brown) dolls; moreover, the experimenters were white and the Clark questions were changed, making this an inexact replication. Using puppets and slightly different questions, Asher and Allen (1969) also found that black children preferred white and rejected black. Crooks (1970) also replicated the Clark studies and found essentially identical results; however, when children who had been in an interracial pre-school were tested, black children showed a greater preference for black than did children who had not been in any pre-school. Blakely and Somerville (1970) questioned children in grades one through twelve concerning their preference of racial names; most blacks preferred Negro or Afro-American to black. Sciara (1971) asked black males in the fourth grade to assign photographs of light, medium, and dark-skinned individuals to low and high status jobs; results were highly significant with light-skinned persons being assigned high status jobs and dark-skinned persons low status ones.

Only two recent studies have shown a positive change in racial preference. Using a perfect replication of the Clark (1955) method, Hraba and Grant (1970) found significant differences between their results and those of the Clark study. At all ages tested, black children preferred the black dolls and identified themselves with the black doll. The researchers stated that the race of the experimenter was found to be unimportant, but

they did not specify how this was determined. Hraba and Grant viewed their findings with some limitations, since the only testing was done in Lincoln, Nebraska; they pointed out that the city may be somewhat unique. Also, the city had just completed a long black pride campaign, suggesting that such programs might have a positive effect for some time period. The researchers did find that light children were just as likely as darker children to choose the black doll. Similar findings were reported by Harris and Braun (1971). Using puppets and slightly different questions and order of questioning, they found that black children chose the black puppets regardless of sex or socioeconomic class. The experimenter was a black female and research was conducted in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area. Thus, on the basis of these two studies, it might be concluded that a complete reversal of racial preference has occurred in black children. However, variations in methods and geographical areas may have had some effect.

To summarize the research of the 1960's and early 1970's, several studies have found that black children prefer white dolls or puppets, while two studies found that black children prefer black. In one study, more children were able to correctly identify themselves by skin color when a brown doll was added to the black and white dolls; however, on preference questions the black children still preferred the white doll. Children who had been in an integrated pre-school indicated a slightly higher preference for black than children who had not been in any pre-school. Black children associated photographs of dark-skinned people with low status jobs.

Variations in method, including stimulus materials, questions asked, sex of the child, and race and sex of the experimenter, combined with inconsistent results across experiments make conclusions on the basis of this more recent data somewhat difficult.

Recent research on the effects of race and sex of the experimenter on experimental results has led to the conclusion that this can be an important factor. In a study involving imitation of television models, Nicholas et al. (1971, a) found that white girls modeled adult males of both sexes, while black girls imitated black females. Nicholas et al. (1971, b) also found that black subjects imitated female models less than white subjects; no race-sex interactions were found. Doll, Fagot, and Himbert (1971) in a study of sex-role preference and black and white lower class males, found a significant interaction between sex of the experimenter and race of the child. Strickland (1972) reported that black children were significantly more willing to delay receiving a reward from a black experimenter than they were with a white experimenter; white children preferred the delayed reward regardless of experimenter race. These studies clearly indicate that the race and sex of the experimenter can have a significant effect on experimental situations. Although these studies do not deal with racial identification and preference, the indication is that some experimenter effect can be expected.

In summary, the research of the last thirty years has established some facts in the area of racial identification and preference in young children. Children as young as three years old were able to make racial

discriminations; by five years a high degree of racial awareness had developed. Children had also learned the values attached to races, so that black was associated with mean, ugly, poor houses, and low status jobs. Black children rejected dolls with black skin, photographs of black children, and black puppets and preferred white; only two recent studies found black children preferring black. Black children often become upset when asked to identify themselves in relation to race; a significant number of black children identified themselves as white. Recent studies in areas other than racial preference have found that race and sex of the experimenter had a significant effect on experimental results; but this variable was not examined systematically in relation to racial identification and preference. In addition, recent research in the area has varied the methodology used to study racial identification and preference, so that it is difficult to make comparisons with earlier research.

Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

The present study had two major purposes. The first purpose was to further examine the self-image of black children in order to determine whether social changes have affected this self-image. To this end, an exact replication of the Clark and Clark (1958) study was conducted so that a measure of change could be made. The second major purpose was to determine how the experimental situation could affect the results, since the results of previous studies have been taken to be an indication of self-image. To examine experimenter effects, male and female, black and white experimenters were used. To further study how changes in the

experimental situation could affect the results, the test questions were asked a second time with the dolls dressed to indicate high and low socioeconomic class. An equal number of white children were tested so that a comparison of black and white responses to the experimental situation could be made.

The following hypotheses were offered as alternatives to the null hypothesis:

1. Black subjects will prefer the black doll and identify themselves with the black doll more often than subjects in the Clark and Clark (1958) study.
2. Black subjects will show a higher preference for the black doll than will white subjects.
3. Subjects will show a higher preference for dolls of their own race when the experimenter is of the same race.
4. All subjects will prefer the high status doll which is of the same race preferred during the first set of questions.

No predictions could be made regarding the effects of sex of the experimenter or the interactions of race and sex of the experimenter and child.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were fifty-six white and fifty-six black children enrolled in three Gainesville, Florida, elementary schools which have attempted to maintain a racial balance. All subjects were in the kindergarten, five years old, and had been in an integrated school environment for approximately one academic year.

Experimenters

Four experimenters were used -- a black female, a white female, a black male, and a white male. All experimenters were first-year graduate students, except for the black female who was a senior in the undergraduate college. Each experimenter tested twenty-eight children (seven black females, seven white females, seven black males, and seven white males). Each experimenter was given written instructions regarding the procedure; no information concerning experimental hypotheses was given.

Experimental design

A 2X2X2X2 factorial design was used, with seven subjects in each

cell (see Table 1). Scores measuring four dependent variables were as follows:

- (1) Initial Preference -- number of children picking up the black doll during the Initial Preference condition.
- (2) Preference Score -- number of times the black doll was chosen in response to questions one, two and four plus the number of times the white doll was chosen in response to question three.
- (3) Accuracy Score -- number of correct responses to questions five, six, and seven.
- (4) Self-Identification -- number of subjects choosing the correct doll for their race.

Data were always examined from the viewpoint of preference for black except when accuracy was involved.

Procedure

Experimenters were introduced to the children by the classroom teacher, who explained that the children would be going with one of the experimenters one at a time to play a short game. The experimenter took each child to a corner of the school library, where they sat at a table and four dolls were laid out in front of the child. The dolls were identical except for skin color; two were brown-skinned with black hair and two were white-skinned with blond hair. The dolls were clad in a flannel

Table 1
Experimental Design

		Black Subject		White Subject	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Black Experimenter	Male	7	7	7	7
	Female	7	7	7	7
White Experimenter	Male	7	7	7	7
	Female	7	7	7	7

blanket during Condition I; no sex identification could be made. Dolls were placed in front of the child in a randomly varied order, either black-white-black-white or white-black-white-black. The child was told that he could play with one of the dolls while the experimenter prepared recording sheets and got ready to "play the game." As an attempt to obtain a purely behavioral measure of preference, the experimenter recorded whether the child picked up a white doll, a black doll, or both; this was termed initial preference.

The child was then asked the following questions, which are identical to those used by Clark and Clark (1958):

1. Give me the doll that you would like to play with.
2. Give me the doll that is a nice doll.
3. Give me the doll that looks bad.
4. Give me the doll that is a nice color.
5. Give me the doll that looks like a white child.
6. Give me the doll that looks like a colored child.
7. Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child.
8. Give me the doll that looks like you.

The dolls for Condition I were then removed and the dolls for Condition II were laid out. These four dolls were identical to the first four except for dress. One black and one white were clad in a clean new smock which were trimmed with lace, while one black and one white doll were clad in smocks which were torn and smeared with dirt. Thus, a socioeconomic status of the dolls was implied. Dolls in the new smocks were termed Pretty (P) and

dolls in the torn smocks were termed Not Pretty (NP). The procedure using this second set of dolls was identical to the procedure of Condition I; the same set of eight questions were asked.

Throughout the testing, spontaneous comments made by the children were recorded in writing by the experimenters. Children were thanked and returned to their classroom when testing was completed.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Two of the four hypotheses were partially supported by the results. In addition, some new information was obtained.

Hypothesis 1: Black subjects will prefer the black doll and identify themselves with the black doll more often than in the Clark and Clark (1958) study.

In order to compare the current results with the Clark and Clark (1958) data, percentages were computed for the response to each question; percentages for questions one through four were based on the number of times the black doll was chosen and percentages for questions five through eight were based on the number of accurate responses. The Test For Significance of Difference Between Two Proportions (Bruning and Kintz, 1968) was computed for each question (see Table 2). The only significant differences in the results of the two studies were in response to question one, "Give me the doll you would like to play with," and question two, "Give me the doll that is a nice doll." The present study showed a significant increase in the preference for black on these two questions. On the remaining preference questions (three and four) there was an increase in the preference for black, but the difference was not significant. There was not a significant increase in self-identification with the black doll.

Table 2

Clark and Clark (1958) Data Compared with Current Data

Preference:	<u>Clark Study</u>	<u>Current Black</u>	<u>Current White</u>
1. --- like to play with	32%	54%*	29%**
2. --- a nice doll	38%	48%*	35%**
3. --- a bad doll	59%	57%	53%
4. --- a nice color	38%	43%	34%
Accuracy:			
5. --- a white child	94%	89%	89%
6. --- a colored child	93%	91%	89%
7. --- a Negro child	72%	66%	72%
Self-Identification:			
8. --- you	65%	69%	91%

*Significantly Different from Clark

**Significantly Different from Current Black

Clark and Clark used only black subjects; percentages for the current white subjects are given in Table 2 for the purpose of comparison. Whites identified with the appropriate color doll significantly more often than black subjects.

Hypothesis 2: Black subjects will show a higher preference for the black doll than will white subjects.

Results of Analysis of Variance on the Initial Preference scores are shown in Table 3. Subject race was the only main effect found to be significant, with black subjects choosing the black doll more often than white subjects (Black mean = 2.07, White mean = 1.41). Three second order interactions were significant. The interaction of Subject Race by Subject Sex by Experimenter Sex (Figure 1) showed that Black subjects did not differ significantly with a Male or a Female Experimenter. White subjects, however, showed a greater preference for the black doll when the experimenter was of the opposite sex.

The significance of the Subject Race by Experimenter Race by Experimenter Sex interaction revealed that the response evoked by a White Female experimenter and a Black Male Experimenter was essentially the same; this was also true for the response evoked by the Black Female experimenter and the White Male experimenter (see Figure 2). All subjects showed the same preference for the black doll with a Black Female or White Male experimenter; Black subjects, however showed considerably greater preference than White subjects with the White Female and Black Male experimenter. Subject Sex by Experimenter Race by

Table 3

Results of Analysis of Variance on Initial Preference Scores

<u>S</u>	Race	$\frac{F}{8.15^{**}}$
<u>S</u>	Sex	1.72
<u>E</u>	Race	0.01
<u>E</u>	Sex	0.15
<u>S</u>	Race by <u>S</u> Sex	0.05
<u>S</u>	Race by <u>E</u> Race	0.15
<u>S</u>	Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.48
<u>S</u>	Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.15
<u>S</u>	Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	3.72
<u>E</u>	Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.01
<u>S</u>	Sex by <u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	1.34
<u>S</u>	Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	5.01*
<u>S</u>	Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	5.01*
<u>S</u>	Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	5.72*
<u>S</u>	Sex by <u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	1.34

*p < .05, F > 3.94

**p < .01, F > 6.90

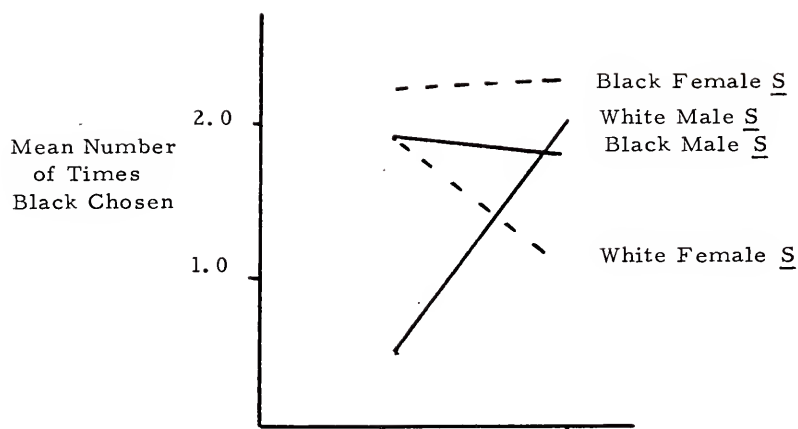


Figure 1 Subject Race by Subject
Sex by Experimenter Sex,
Initial Preference

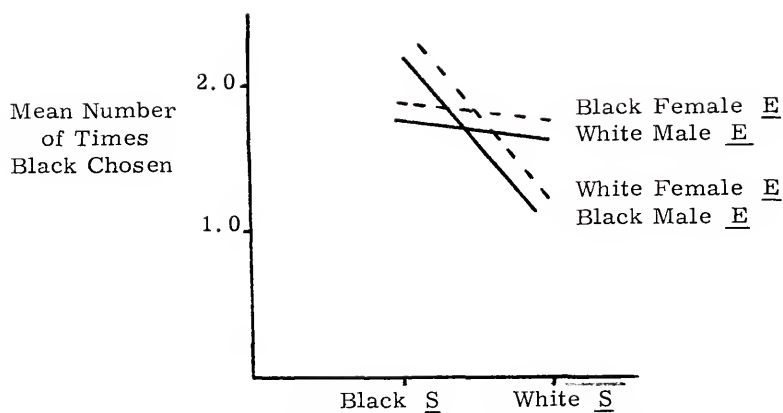


Figure 2 Subject Race by Experimenter
Race by Experimenter Sex,
Initial Preference

Experimenter Sex interaction also shows that subjects responded differently to different experimenters (see Figure 3). When the experimenter was Black, responses of Male and Female subjects were essentially the same regardless of experimenter sex. However, when the experimenter was White, subjects showed a higher preference for black when the experimenter was of the opposite sex.

Results of the analysis on Preference scores for Condition I are reported in Table 4. The main effect of subject race was again significant with Black subjects preferring the black doll more often than White subjects (Black mean = 1.89, White mean = 1.32). The interaction of Subject Race by Subject Sex by Experimenter Sex was significant at the .05 level (see Figure 4). Black Female subjects were most likely to prefer the black doll, while White Male subjects showed a greater preference for black when the experimenter was Male. Black Male subjects were especially affected by experimenter sex, showing almost as high a preference for the black doll as Black Female subjects when the experimenter was Male, but decreasing in preference with a Female experimenter so that only White Male subjects had lower preference scores. No significant differences were found among preference scores for Condition II; results are reported in Table 5.

Hypothesis 3: Subjects will show a higher preference for dolls of their own race when the experimenter is of the same race.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data, which are reported above. The interactions of race and sex were found to have more effect

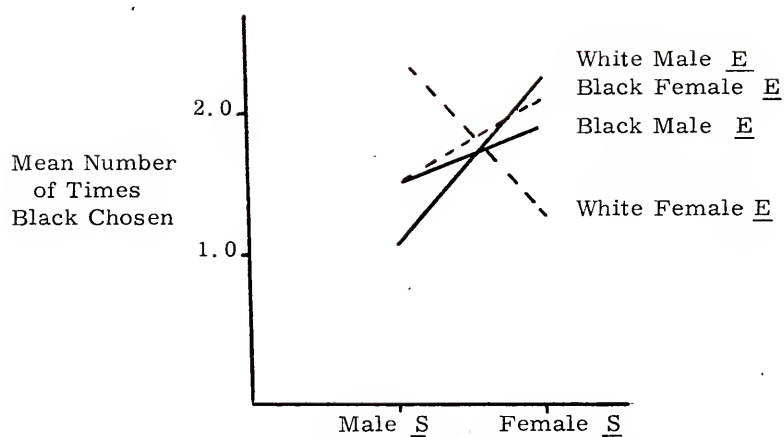


Figure 3 Subject Sex by Experimenter
 Race by Experimenter Sex,
 Initial Preference

Table 4

Results of Analysis of Variance on Preference Scores,

Condition I	
	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	4.94*
<u>S</u> Sex	1.24
<u>E</u> Race	0.02
<u>E</u> Sex	2.78
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	0.69
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.48
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	1.56
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.31
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.31
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	3.26
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.02
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	4.94*
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.94
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.48
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.17

*p < .05, F > 3.94

**p < .01, F > 6.90

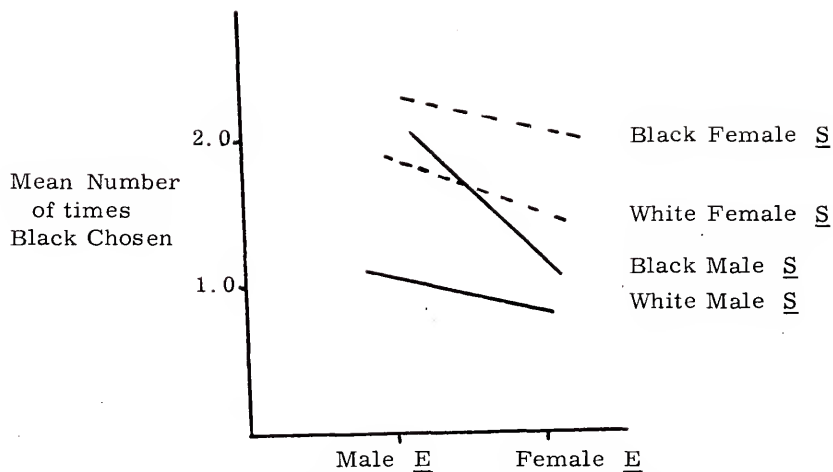


Figure 4 Subject Race by Subject Sex
by Experimenter Sex,
Preference, Condition I

Table 5

Results of Analysis of Variance on Preference Scores,

Condition II

	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	0.28
<u>S</u> Sex	2.49
<u>E</u> Race	0.28
<u>E</u> Sex	1.73
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	1.11
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	1.11
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.28
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.07
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	3.39
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	1.73
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	1.11
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.62
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.69
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.62
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	1.73

p < .05, F > 3.94

p < .01, F > 6.90

than race alone. In fact, the highest performance scores were found when the experimenter and subject were of different races. For Black subjects, the highest preference for black was found with a White Female experimenter; for White subjects the highest preference for black was found with the Black Female experimenter. While the highest preference was found with a Female experimenter of the opposite race as the subject, the lowest preference was found with a Male experimenter of the opposite race.

Hypothesis 4: All subjects will prefer the high status doll which is of the same race preferred during the first set of questions.

This hypothesis was not supported. In examining the results of Condition II, t-tests were performed on the data for each subject group to determine whether subjects chose Pretty (P) or Not Pretty (NP) dolls more often. None of these t-tests was significant except for Black Female subjects (see Table 6). Black Female subjects preferred the Pretty doll at the .05 level of significance. Therefore, it was decided that P and NP dolls did not constitute an important difference and P and NP dolls of each color were considered together.

No hypotheses were formulated regarding the effect of sex and the interactions of race and sex of the experimenter and child. It was found that both race and sex interacted to form an important factor. Effects on preference are cited above. The effects were seen especially in the analysis of accuracy. Results of the analysis using accuracy scores for Condition I are reported in Table 7. No main effect was significant

Table 6

Choice of Pretty versus Not Pretty t-test Results

White Male subjects	$t = 0.489$
---------------------	-------------

White Female subjects	$t = 0.740$
-----------------------	-------------

Black Male subjects	$t = 0.023$
---------------------	-------------

Black Female subjects	$t = 2.504^*$
-----------------------	---------------

* $p < .05$, $df=54$

Table 7

Results of Analysis of Variance on Accuracy Scores,

Condition I	
	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	0.89
<u>S</u> Sex	0.89
<u>E</u> Race	0.89
<u>E</u> Sex	3.20
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	0.36
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	5.69*
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	3.20
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.09
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.09
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.09
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.80
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	1.42
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.36
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.36
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	7.20**
*p < .05, F > 3.94	
**p < .01, F > 6.90	

The interaction of Subject Race by Experimenter Race was significant at the .05 level (see Figure 5). Subjects were more accurate when the experimenter was of the same race. The interaction of Subject Race by Subject Sex by Experimenter Race by Experimenter Sex was significant at the .01 level (see Figure 6). With White experimenters, the subject groups which were most and least accurate did not vary with the experimenter sex. With White experiments, White Female subjects were most accurate, followed by Black Females, White Males, and finally Black Males. With a Black Male experimenter, White Male subjects were least accurate. With a Black Female experimenter, Black Males were most accurate and White Female subjects were least accurate. Overall, the least accurate group was the Black Male subjects with the White Female experimenter. The most accurate groups were White Male subjects with a Black Male experimenter, White Female subjects with a White Male experimenter, and Black Male subjects with a Black Female experimenter.

The analysis of the accuracy scores for Condition II are reported in Table 8. Two main effects were significant. The effect of subject race was significant at the .01 level with White subjects more accurate than Black subjects (White mean = 0.91, Black mean = 0.696. The effect of subject sex was significant at the .05 level with Female subjects more accurate than Male subjects (Female mean = 0.88, Male mean = 0.73). In addition, the interaction of Subject Sex by Experimenter Sex was significant at the .05 level (See Figure 7). Female subjects were equally

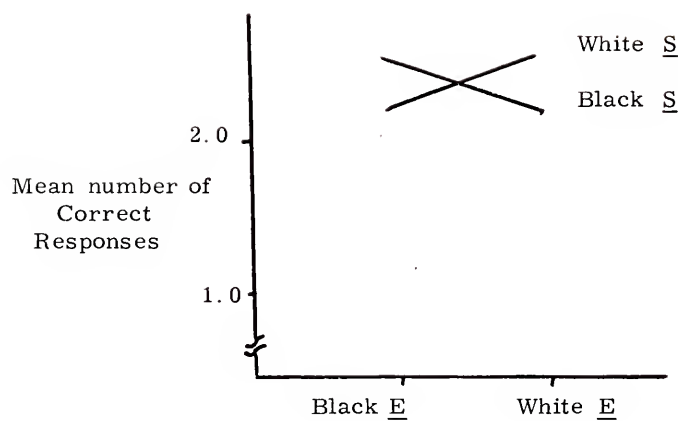


Figure 5 Subject Race by Experimenter
Race,
Accuracy, Condition I

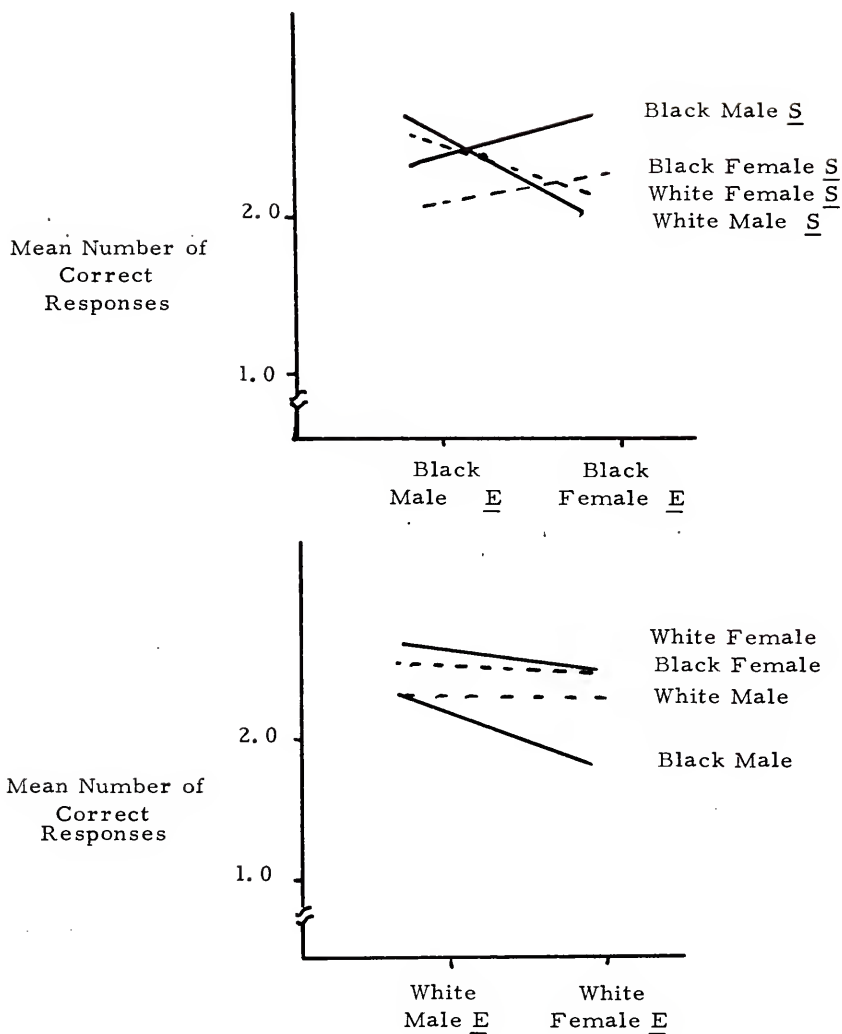


Figure 6 Subject Race by Subject Sex
by Experimenter Race by
Experimenter Sex,
Accuracy, Condition I

Table 8

Results of Analysis of Variance on Accuracy Scores,

Condition II	
	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	9.00**
<u>S</u> Sex	4.00*
<u>E</u> Race	2.25
<u>E</u> Sex	1.00
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	2.25
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	0.00
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	4.00*
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	2.25
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.25
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.00
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.25
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	1.00
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.25
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.25
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	1.00

*p < .05, F > 3.94

**p < .01, F > 6.90

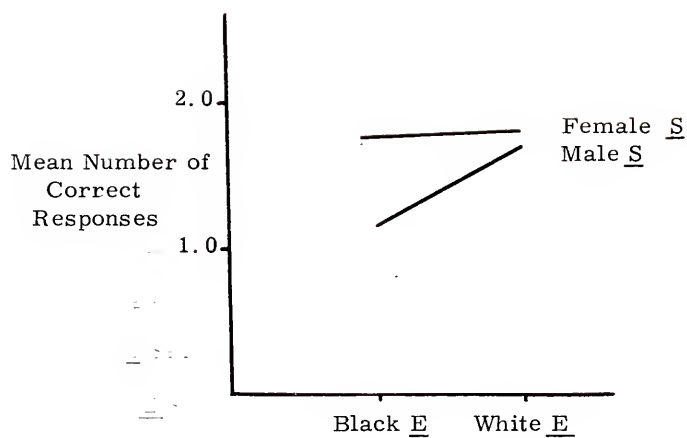


Figure 7 Subject Sex by Experimenter
Race,
Accuracy, Condition II

accurate regardless of the race of the experimenter. However, Male subjects were less accurate with Black experimenters than with White experimenters.

The effects of race and sex were also seen in the analysis of the self-identification question. The results of the analysis of Self-Identification in Condition I are reported in Table 9. Two main effects were significant at the .01 level. White Males were more accurate on Self-Identification than Black Males (White mean = 0.89, Black mean = 0.50). In addition, Female subjects were more accurate in Self-Identification than Male subjects (Female mean = 0.82, Male mean = 0.57). The interaction of these two variables, Subject Race by Subject Sex, was also significant at the .01 level (see Figure 8). White subjects were equally accurate whether Male or Female; Black Female subjects were more accurate than Black Male subjects.

The analysis of Self-identification for Condition II is reported in Table 10. Three main effects were significant at the .01 level. Subject race had a significant effect, with White subjects more accurate in Self-Identification than Black subjects (White mean = 1.91, Black mean = 1.50). Subject sex also had a significant effect, with Female subjects more accurate than Male subjects (Female mean = 1.82, Male mean = 1.59). Finally, the effect of sex of the experimenter also had a significant effect, with more accurate Self-Identification being made with a Male experimenter than with a Female experimenter (Male mean = 1.80, Female mean = 1.61). The interaction of Subject Race by Subject Sex was also significant

Table 9

Results of Analysis of Variance on Self-Identification Scores,

Condition I

	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	27.92**
<u>S</u> Sex	11.31*
<u>E</u> Race	0.23
<u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	11.31*
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	0.23
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.23
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.00
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.23
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.92
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.00

*p < .05, F > 3.94

**p < .01, F > 6.90

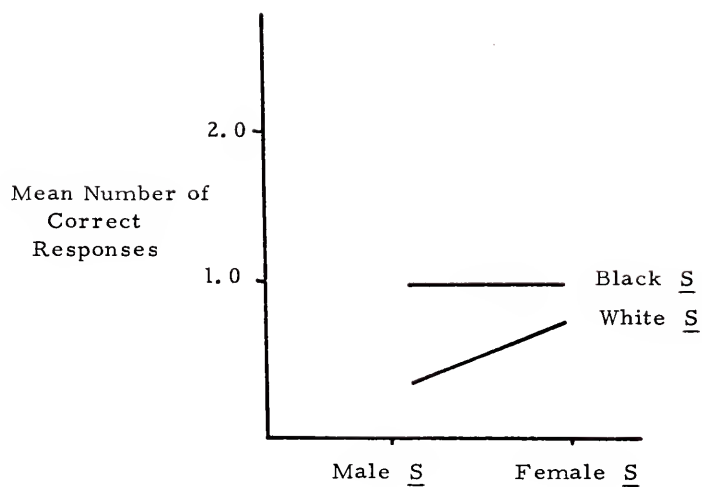


Figure 8 Subject Race by Subject Sex,
Self-Identification, Condition I

Table 10

Results of Analysis of Variance on Self-Identification Scores.

Condition II	
	<u>F</u>
<u>S</u> Race	35.36**
<u>S</u> Sex	11.27**
<u>E</u> Race	1.66
<u>E</u> Sex	8.07**
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex	15.00**
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Race	1.67
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.07
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	1.67
<u>S</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.60
<u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.60
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race	0.60
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.07
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Sex	0.60
<u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.60
<u>S</u> Race by <u>S</u> Sex by <u>E</u> Race by <u>E</u> Sex	0.07

*p < .05, F > 3.94

**p < .01, F > 6.90

(see Figure 9). White subjects were not affected by sex of the experimenter, while Black subjects made more accurate Self-Identification responses with the Female experimenter than with the Male experimenter. These results are consistent with those of Condition I.

A chi-square was performed on the responses to "Give me the doll that is a nice doll" and "Give me the doll that looks like you" to see if children preferred and identified with the doll of the same color. It had been assumed that a child who prefers one color and identifies with a different color doll is revealing a poor self-image based on skin color. No relationship was found between the responses to these questions (chi-square = 5.984, $df = 9$). Therefore, it can be concluded that the responses to these two questions should not be used as a measure of a child's self-image.

Finally, none of the spontaneous comments made by the children had to do with their color or the color of the dolls. In fact, the children said very little, but they were extremely cooperative in "playing the game". No children cried, left the situation, or refused to participate.

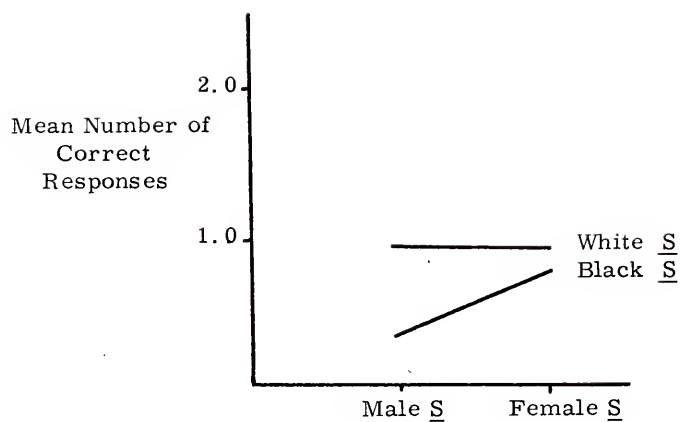


Figure 9 Subject Race by Subject Sex,
Self-Identification, Condition II

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

There are some very definite conclusions which can be made from the present study.

1. There has been a significant increase in preference for black by black children over the Clark and Clark (1958) data.
2. Black subjects preferred black significantly more than White subjects.
3. There was no significant difference in response to the self-identification question in comparison with the Clark and Clark data, while White subjects were significantly more likely to identify themselves with the doll of their color.
4. Racial preference, accuracy, and identification were found to vary in an unpredicted and complicated way as a function of the interaction of race and sex of the experimenters and subjects.
5. The current data (and previous data) indicate a response to the experimental situation, in that changes in the situation resulted in different responses.

In a direct comparison with the Clark and Clark (1958) data it is interesting to note that there has been a significant increase in the preference for black on two of the four preference questions. This could lead to the conclusion that the social changes of the past few years have in fact improved the way blacks see themselves. There was no significant difference in self-identification, however, so that it would seem that the black child is still rejecting his own color. When comparing the data of black and white subjects of the current study in the same fashion, it can be seen that whites and blacks differ significantly on the same two preference questions as those which differ from the Clark data. It is clear that Black subjects did show a greater preference for black, further supporting the conclusion that black self-image may have improved. The White subjects were significantly more likely to identify themselves with the doll of their own color, which may also indicate that response of Black subjects in the self-identification question does indicate self-rejection. All of the three groups were equally accurate in racial identification. Although this data supports some hypotheses, it should be considered with some caution, given the major results of this study. It can be accepted that Black subjects showed an increased preference for black over the Clark data with no increase in self-identification with black; however, it must be kept in mind that variables in the situation did significantly affect the responses of the subjects.

Given the choice of picking up any doll (Initial Preference), Black subjects did choose the black doll significantly more often than did White

subjects. The three interactions which were significant are complex and difficult to interpret. It does appear that Black subjects were not affected by experimenter sex, while White Male subjects showed a greater preference for black with Female experimenters, and the same is true for White Female subjects with Male experimenters. This result may be related to the fact that blacks often only have a maternal figure in the home and are not socialized in the same way to sex roles as are whites. Unfortunately, in the Subject Race by Experimenter Race by Experimenter Sex interaction, Black and White subjects respond in the same way to Black Female and White Female experimenters; Black subjects, however, show a high preference for Black with the White Female experimenter and Black Male experimenter, while White subjects show a low preference with the same experimenters. Regardless of whatever dynamic explanation may be attempted, it is clear that something as simple as picking up a doll can be affected by the interaction of race and sex of the experimenter and child.

On the preference questions in Condition I, Blacks again showed a higher preference for black than did Whites, as was hypothesized. Also, it is no surprise that White Male subjects least preferred the black doll and Black Female subjects showed the greatest preference for the black doll. Black girls are simply the most likely to play with black dolls. All subjects preferred black more with a Male experimenter in this condition. Black Male subjects in particular showed a radical decrease in preference for black with a Female experimenter. It could be that the black boy's

environment has such a dearth of male role models, that the result was an extremely positive response to Male experimenters. By simply adding another variable to the situation in Condition II (i. e., dress of the dolls), the significant effects of Condition I preferences were wiped out. Thus, it can be concluded that the response of racial preference in this situation is sufficiently delicate as to be affected by external variables. Therefore, although it cannot be denied that there are differences in the preference scores, one must be very cautious in making conclusions from this study and similar racial preference data. It appears that the child's response to the immediate situation is being measured in addition to racial preference.

This is true to such an extent that even accuracy was affected by the situation. No main effects had a significant effect on accuracy in Condition I. This is to say that White subjects were not more accurate than Black subjects, nor Males than Females. However, the interaction of subject race with experimenter race did affect accuracy. Subjects of each race were more accurate with an experimenter of their own race. This may be attributed to the effect of modeling or social desirability. It is important to remember also that children were less accurate with an experimenter of the opposite race. There can be little question that response to the experimenter was as important as racial awareness and knowledge of racial labels.

Furthermore, the interaction of subject race and sex with experimenter race and sex was also significant. When the experimenter was

White, subjects were more accurate with Male experimenters and less accurate with Female experimenters; when the experimenter was Black, the results became more complicated. White Male subjects were more accurate with the Black Male experimenter than with the Black Female experimenter; the exact opposite was true for Black Male subjects. Black Female subjects decreased in accuracy with a Black Female experimenter, while White Female subjects increased in accuracy with the Black Female experimenter (in relation to performance with the Black Male experimenter). These results are not consistent with the preference results. However, the complexities of the interaction reinforce the hypothesis that much of what is being measured is the response to an external situation rather than a degree of knowledge.

In Condition II, where another external variable was added, the question of accuracy becomes much more clear cut. White subjects were significantly more accurate than Black subjects; Female subjects were more accurate than Male subjects. Female subjects were equally accurate regardless of experimenter race, while Male subjects were considerably less accurate with a Black experimenter than with a White experimenter. These results could be explained by saying that females are traditionally more school oriented and therefore might be more likely to do well on a test of accuracy. However, more important than such an explanation is the added evidence that the experimental situation can affect the subjects' accuracy responses.

On the self-identification question, White subjects identified

themselves with the correct color significantly more often than did Black subjects; this was also true for Female subjects in relation to Males. Furthermore, White subjects were equally accurate whether Male or Female. Black Male subjects, however, were far less accurate in self-identification than all other subjects. Black Female subjects were almost as accurate as White subjects on this question. The identical interaction was found in Condition II. Thus, it would seem that only Black Male subjects are now rejecting their race. Perhaps this can be explained by the opportunities of the Female subjects to positively identify with maternal figures and perhaps black female teachers. An additional significant finding in Condition II was that more accurate Self-Identification responses were made with a Male experimenter than with a Female experimenter. Once again, the results are very complex and it would seem that the concept of self-rejection is tenuous to some degree.

Since no relationship was found between responses to the request for a "nice doll" and a "doll that looks like you," it may be concluded that the whole concept of self-rejection on the basis of the Dolls Test has been overinterpreted. In fact, it is questionable whether or not the internal states of racial preference and identification can be measured by the choice of a doll. The Dolls Test can be used with confidence as a behavior showing preference for dolls of different colors; as behavior, these preferences can be modified by changes in the experimental situation. Generalizations of racial preferences and identification may be made,

but this should be done with qualifications.

Before further generalizations are made from the present study, some further research would be useful. The effect of varying experimenters was obviously powerful. There could be some question as to whether the personalities of the experimenters had any effect in addition to the effects of race and sex. Given the complexities of the race and sex interactions, this would seem unlikely. Nevertheless, ideally the research should now be replicated with several experimenters of each race and sex. A further investigation of the effects of varying the dolls could be done. One possibility is a replication with half of the subjects experiencing Condition II before Condition I to check for any order effect. Also, other modifications of the dolls' dress and color and also sex might be made. Finally, a study correlating the various methods used to measure racial preference among children should be used with the same children; thus, some firmer conclusions as to what is being measured might be possible.

All of the above does not say that previous studies have provided worthless information. Rejection by blacks of their identity and position has been a reality; it would seem that the situation is now somewhat alleviated. However, it seems that excessive interpretations have been made on the basis of such data in the past and insufficient consideration has been given to the effects of the experimental situation. It has become very clear that the children were reacting very differently in the situation depending on who the experimenter was. This leads to the consideration of some implications for schools. Further information is needed on how the

factors of race and sex affect the children's responses to the teacher and the school situation, where the teacher is often a white female. However, considerably more evidence would be needed before such a question can be seriously considered.

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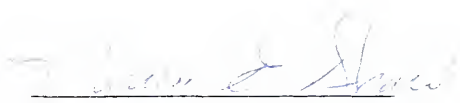
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

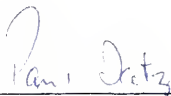
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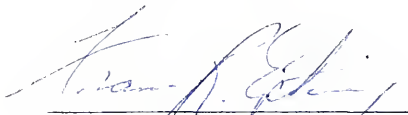
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